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Vol. 54, No. 12 Whole Number 444

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THE CRISIS *was founded in* 1910 *and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It is published monthly at* 20 *West* 40*th Street, New York* 18, *N. Y., by the Crisis Publishing Co., Inc., Dr. Louis T. Wright, president; Walter White, secretary; and Mrs. Lillian A. Alexander, treasurer. The subscription price is* $1.50 *a year or* 15 *cents a copy. Foreign subscriptions* $1.75. *The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscription may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and three weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while* THE CRISIS *uses every care, it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November* 2, 1910, *at the post office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March* 3, 1879.

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EDITORIAL ROUNDUP

Nothing definite is known as to the birth, early life and death of the Italian painter Bernardino Luini (c. 1465—c. 1533) who is the author of the painting reproduced on our COVER. His picture, a seven-by-five-foot fresco, forms part of the Litta collection in the Louvre, Paris, France. The Madonna is seated at the entrance to the stable, with the infant Jesus on her knee. Behind her stands Joseph. On the left are the three kings whose servants can be seen in the distance.

In accordance with Renaissance tradition, the arrangement of the three kings typifies the relation of the three continents to Christianity. The[s] kneeling king typifies Europe, which has already embraced Christianity; the next king, Asia, which is in a transitional state as to Christianity; and the last, Africa, which at that time had not accepted Christianity.

•

This is not the first time that DR. W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS ("Three Centuries of Discrimination," page 362) has authored petitions of Negro grievances for presentation to an international body. It was Dr. Du Bois who wrote and presented "An Appeal to the World" to the old League of Nations in Geneva on behalf of the Second Pan-African Congress (1921). Dr. Du Bois heads the department of special research of the NAACP.

•

One little known anomaly about our federal government is its enforcement of segregation and jim-crow on the Panama Canal Zone. Here under the American flag, on a Government reservation, the Panama Canal (official name of the administrative organization) maintains separate schools for white and colored children; refuses to admit Negroes as guests in government-owned hotels; and otherwise jim-crows non-white elements of the population. GEORGE W. WESTERMAN ("Gold and Silver Employees," page 365), who brings the problem to the attention of our readers, is associate editor of *The Panama Tribune* and author of *Toward a Better Understanding*, a pamphlet discussing race conflicts on the Isthmus.

•

"The 'Negro question' in the United States," writes CEDRIC DOVER ("Books as Ambassadors," page 368), "has become a world concern, reflected in the growing interest in Aframerican problems, struggles and achievements. Negro poetry is sought eagerly [in England], but remains to be presented as a living activity illustrating the truth that peoples speak through their poets."

Mr. Dover, who was born in Calcutta, India, now teaches in the department of social sciences at Fisk university. He is the author of numerous books, including *Half-Caste* and his recently published *One Khaki: The Autobiography of a Half-Caste.*

•

Our book reviewers this month are OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD (*The Walls Came Tumbling Down*, page 377), one of the founders of the NAACP; ARTHUR E. BURKE (*Democracy Reborn*, page 378), a professor of English at Hampton Institute; and PERCY DE FREITAS (*Democracy and Empire in the Caribbean*, page 378), a librarian with the New York office of the Standard Oil Company.

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College and School News

Dr. Ethel J. Alpenfels was principal speaker October 11 at the annual Cheyney day exercises of the CHEYNEY STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE; while Kenneth Spencer, bass-baritone, was featured in a recital in the evening. Aim of Cheyney day is to present the work of the college to thoughtful and influential citizens and to arouse their active interest and cooperation in the whole area of progressive Negro citizenship.

Inaugural ceremonies and seminars on education and public affairs were held at FISK UNIVERSITY November 6-9, with such speakers as J. Melville Broughton, former governor of North Carolina; Calvin Hoover, research director Committee of the South; Mark Ethridge, publisher; Harold Taylor, president Sarah Lawrence; Mordecai Johnson, president Howard; Frederick D. Patterson, president Tuskegee; and Ira deA. Reid, professor of sociology Atlanta.

Fisk University Social Center celebrated its tenth anniversary November 9, concluding the four-day inaugural ceremonies of Dr. Charles S. Johnson. Founded in 1937 by Dr. Johnson, the Center, which offers a variety of programs on the pre-school, school-age, and adult levels, is designed to meet the needs of the community as well as to serve as a social science laboratory for the students.

Annual Jubilee Day ceremony, commemorating the 76th anniversary of the departure of the original Jubilee Singers from Fisk, was held in the university chapel October 6, with President Johnson as the principal speaker. After relating how the original singers had toured the United States and Europe for four years and returned to Fisk with $150,000, by which means Jubilee Hall was constructed, Mrs. Helen Young Howard, alumni secretary, cited examples of prominent alumni who have carried their spirit of courage down through the years.

Four new six-room houses for members of the university faculty and staff are scheduled for completion between November 1 and December 1, according to a recent announcement by John H. Sweitzer, superintendent of buildings and grounds. Built in classic New England style, all the houses will be painted white, and will have three bedrooms, a living room, dining alcove, kitchen, fireplace and porch, complete

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ALCORN A. & M. COLLEGE was represented at the recent Washington conference of land-grant colleges by President W. H. Pipes, Mary Whiteside, and E. S. Burke.

LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.) boasts 412 veterans enrolled in the institution, an eleven percent increase over the number enrolled at the end of the second semester of last year. Three of this number are women.

Lincoln is offering pre-flight training, including instruction in navigation, power plant and meteorology, as a ground course for students interested in flying. The course is being taught by A. A. Kildare, head of the department of physics.

Professor T. Thomas Fortune Fletcher, former teacher and acting head of the Lincoln English department, was a recent visitor on the campus. Dr. Fletcher now directs English instruction for the Ethiopian government at Addis Ababa.

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE reports an enrollment of 851, distributed as follows: freshmen, 214; sophomores, 256; juniors 204; and seniors, 155. Seven students are enrolled in the school of religion. More than fifty percent of the enrolees are veterans, who number 455.

Among recent speakers at the college have been Mrs. Phyllis Farley, regional secretary of the World Student Service Fund, and President Benjamin E. Mays.

Floyd J. Morgan, a native of Mankato, Minn., occupies the new post of business manager at SPELMAN COLLEGE. Authorization for the new position was granted by the Spelman board of trustees at its April, 1947, meeting. Mr. Morgan's duties will include general supervision of the up-keep of the physical plant. Before coming to Spelman, Mr. Morgan was the assistant-treasurer of Carleton college in Northfield, Minn.

Dr. Hazel E. Foster, author of a *New Guide to Bible Study* and formerly a teacher in India, has joined the department of religion. She holds a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago. Other appointments are Mrs. Florence Brinkman Boyton in music; Mrs. Phillipina Hannak in French; Elizabeth J. Lipford in health education; Marcia Ruth Dwinell in French; Mrs. Doris D. Holmes in English; Rosalind Rieman in social group work; and Marie Lauray in biology.

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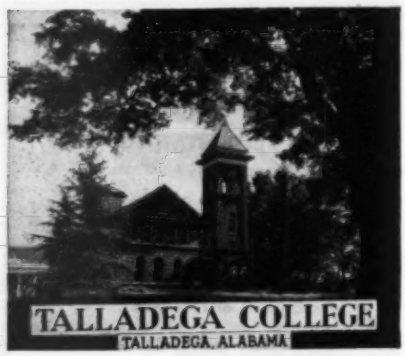

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On October 15 Harper's brought out Dr. Joseph A. Pierce's *Negro Business and Business Education*. Dr. Pierce is professor of mathematics and statistics at Atlanta and his book results from two years of study and research carried out under the auspices of the university.

The first in a series of eight university forum lectures was delivered in October by Dr. Lloyd A. Cook, professor of educational sociology at Wayne university, Detroit. First joint morning worship service of the university system was addressed on October 5 by Dr. E. Stanley Jones, evangelist and author.

Fourth annual charter day was celebrated by the university October 16, with President Rufus B. Atwood, of Kentucky State, as the principal speaker. Musical selections were under the direction of Kemper Harreld and furnished by the Atlanta-Morehouse-Spelman Chorus and the Morehouse College Glee Club. A feature of the celebration was an exhibit entitled "An Historical Panorama of Atlanta University through Programs, Portraits, etc.," telling the story of the eighty-year-old history of the university.

After twenty-seven years of successful operation under a separate charter as an independent institution, the ATLANTA UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK (founded in 1920 as the Atlanta School of Social Work) on September 22, 1947, gave up its charter and became an integral part of Atlanta university.

Since September 1, 1938, the School of Social Work has maintained an affiliation with Atlanta university. Under the terms of that agreement the university awarded the Master of Social Work degree to candidates of the School who had met all the requirements for this degree, but the School had continued to operate under its own officers and board of trustees. The former trustees of the School will now serve as a board of advisors with the responsibility of giving professional advice and direction.

Annual scholarship convocation of WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE was held September 28, with Dr. Charles C. Hawkins, director of the department of health and physical education, as the principal speaker. A two-day work

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conference under the supervision of Dr. Lloyd Allen Cooke was concluded at the university on September 30.

The college drama department presented a successful performance of *Deep Are the Roots* in the college theatre October 20-22. On October 19 the department presented Carolyn Hill Stewart in *Repertoire*, a one-woman dramatic recital.

Mrs. Violet J. Darius, registrar at STORER COLLEGE, represented her college on October 16-18 at the meeting of the West Virginia Association of Collegiate Registrars in Clarksburg, W. Va.

Edith J. R. Isaacs, author of the recently published *The Negro in the American Theatre*, has decided to turn over a part of the first year's royalties on the book to Negro organizations. Ten percent will be assigned to the United Negro College Fund.

Thirteenth annual conference of the NORTH CAROLINA NEGRO LIBRARY ASSOCIATION was held October 31-November 1 in Wilmington, N. C. More than two hundred librarians attended the sessions, the theme of which was "Books in the World of Tomorrow."

Students at SHAW UNIVERSITY will still get individual attention despite the swollen enrollment. Assistance and guidance will come through the recently inaugurated university counseling program begun this year with freshmen. The program is directed by a personnel counselor, William N. Smith, a counseling committee, and forty faculty advisors.

Dr. Hardy Liston was inaugurated as sixth president of 80-year-old JOHNSON C. SMITH UNIVERSITY on October 20. Prior to coming to Johnson C. Smith as executive vice-president, Dr. Liston had served as dean of Knoxville college for twelve years. On October 19 more than 2,000 people attended services at the Armory Auditorium to pay tribute to president-emeritus, Henry Lawrence McCrorey, with Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, of Bethune-Cookman, as principal speaker.

President E. A. Clarke of MINER TEACHERS COLLEGE announces the retirement of Dean Gertrude H. Woodard. Mrs. Woodard came to Miner in 1921 as a teacher in home economics, in 1925 she was made acting dean of girls, and in 1946 she was made dean of students. She plans to spend six months in Mexico and upon her re-

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TALLADEGA COLLEGE announces eighteen new additions to its faculty and staff.

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JIM CROW COLORADO

IS the North as bad as the South in race relations? The answer is yes, in many instances. Take, for example, Colorado Springs, Colorado. Jim-crow has made himself perfectly at home in this town a lo-o-o-ong time. It is a solid jim-crow town. Backed by "law and order," the color line is stringently enforced—even in the churches. That is, until recently.

Colorado has a civil rights code forbidding color discrimination and an excellent one it is too, but it is no good in Colorado Springs because the city administration itself has played fast and loose with the law. In the few instances where Negroes have tested the ordinance, the courts dissipated the litigations in lengthy legalistic processes.

In Colorado Springs, a resort town of 50,000, jim-crow victims dub it the "Mississippi of the North." It is an isle of the South transplanted to the North. And jim-crow is carefully nurtured by a powerful, entrenched political machine supported by reactionary business interests, and a complacent population tolerates its baneful effects. The forces working to give the Negro equality have always destroyed their effectiveness by collaborating with the entrenched machine, in the supposed cause of progress. The shenanigans of this political machine compare favorably with the performance of any big-time fascist, a Hitler or a Rankin not excepted.

It was back in April of 1944 that the first breach in the jim-crow line was made in Colorado Springs. At that time a militant resident, who knew her rights and was willing to pay the price to maintain them, set off a spark which has put fight back into the blood stream of the intimidated Negro population. Juanita Hairston, head dietician of the Walgreen drug store at the time, put up a stiff non-violent resistance when she was carried out bodily from the main floor of a local theatre. She spent the night in jail rather than have the subject dropped in true southern fashion. The city government, embarrassed and incensed, failed to squash a civil suit filed against one of its principal collaborators in violating a state ordinance. Last spring, at long last, after postponement and stalling procedures had been exhausted by the defense, an award of $500 was ordered paid to the complainant. Now, jim-crow forces are busily patching up their fences but this observer knows from personal experience that no deceit is too low to be used in their game to maintain white supremacy.

Lum Studio

"MISS HOMECOMING FOR 1947"—*Miss Gloria E. Pawley, senior English major at Virginia State College, was elected "Miss Homecoming for 1947" by the student body. She is seen leaving the dormitory to participate in the activities of the day.*

The chief of police, the city manager, and the city attorney of this city are all dyed-in-the-wool southerners whose contempt for dark people has been translated into a policy of fraud and calculated deception for over a decade. The large Mexican population of Colorado Springs, and throughout this area for that matter, are treated as fourth class citizens. However the city administration is evidently appreciated by its white citizens for their salaries recently received a liberal hike. The salary of the city manager was raised from $8000 to $12000.

They are skilled Machiavellians who know how to play the game of divide and rule, which is exploited to the fullest extent in order to create division and disunity among Negroes and to effectively scatter their power. Time and again, a militant who opposed the race pattern has been railroaded out of town. The Uncle Tom's, too weak and naive to realize their betrayal, were carefully-groomed as henchmen to preserve the status of servility imposed upon Negro by the white supremacists.

The history of Negro-White relations in Colorado Springs shows that the benighted shadow of jim-crow did not cast its malign influence over the town until the last two decades. Both parents of many pioneer families in Colorado Springs, whom this writer has known, have been born and reared there. Today their children face the soul-killing jim-crow restrictions spared their parents.

But a change is discernible on the horizon, bringing hope with it. For the Negro of Colorado Springs is now more militant than ever. It is evidenced by the new spirit moving the renascent NAACP of Colorado Springs. The main reason for this reformation is the rebellious younger set. Many of them are returned war veterans. Feel-

(Continued on page 381)

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Editorials

A GOOD START

THE report of President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights is a good start in the direction of first-class citizenship for Negroes in America. Of course, "To Secure These Rights," which is the official title of the report, contains no novel facts nor revolutionary proposals, unless it be the admission of our democratic failures with the adjuration that we practice what we preach. Nor are we naive enough to think this report as forthright as it is going to usher in the millennium. The significance of the document derives from the fact that it ties up into one neat package all the evils of secondary citizenship that colored Americans have been voicing for generations, and that the package was packed and wrapped by a committee of prominent citizens appointed by the President of the United States.

This gave the report a press which it could not have obtained otherwise and makes difficult any dismissal of its findings as mere propaganda. Thinking people simply cannot ignore a document issued under government imprimatur. And considering the stern rebukes in some of its sections, there has been little expression of disapproval. Acting Governor Oscar Wolfe of Mississippi seems to have been the only responsible public official to have attacked it, with the usual cliché that it is a Yankee device designed to break down segregation of the races in the South. In Washington, D. C., a few citizens found fault with the suggestion that racial segregation be abolished in the District.

Meanwhile, Senator Francis J. Meyers (D., Pa.) promises to co-sponsor a resolution to create a joint Senate-House committee on civil rights; Representative Emanuel Celler (D., N. Y.) says he plans to introduce legislation to implement sections of the report.

Another good start toward impressing our perfectly reasonable claims upon the conscience of men was made in October when the NAACP presented a petition on denial of human rights to the United Nations. This is the first time American Negroes have ever presented such a petition to an international body. A few days later Attorney General Tom Clark took time out in a speech to protest his humiliation at the idea that any group of Americans should feel that they had to go before an international body for redress. We have the cure for Mr. Clark's "humiliation." Let him help clean out the undemocratic rubbish in our own yard; this will relieve him of "humiliation" and our failures will not come back to mock us in the vituperation of a Vyshinsky.

UNREAL REALISM

THE Southern Governors Conference meeting in Asheville, N. C., in October unanimously passed a resolution calling for the establishment of regional schools for the separate higher and professional education of Negro and white students. On the surface this plan seems both reasonable and realistic, but actually it is neither. It is just another attempt on the part of the South to circumvent the United States Supreme Court ruling in the case of Lloyd Gaines which says that it is the responsibility of the state to furnish equal educational facilities for all its citizens. And recent litigation in several southern states for the admission of Negroes to tax-supported professional schools makes some "practical" solution of this problem necessary.

Though the thirteen governors think their resolution "the most important ever taken" by a conference of southern governors, it is nothing of the kind, and is, at this point in history reactionary when the whole world is striving for greater fellowship and unity. We admit that the South does need better schools and better education for all its citizens. We also admit that the section is too poor to support first-class professional institutions sufficient to supply the needs even of its white citizens. However, for southern states to pool their resources with the idea of establishing segregated regional schools is actually a step backward rather than forward. With their meagre resources these states would need federal aid for the success of their plan as well as congressional approval before it could even be inaugurated. Both will probably be difficult to get.

The sensible solution to the problem of what to do with the few Negro students who apply for admission to southern professional schools is to admit them. There is no other democratic alternative. Now is the time to begin to break away from Dixie educational traditions and practices through integration.

BILBO'S POLITICAL HEIR

THERE is understandable emotion in the muted satisfaction with which many liberals viewed the relatively quiet calm of the recent senatorial race in Mississippi. Of the five candidates in the field for the seat of the late Senator Bibo none could equal "The Man," either in his expression of personal prejudice nor match him in his vituperative slandering of whole sections of the American population. Representative Rankin, who ran fourth in the race, probably boils with as much hate, suspicion and prejudice, but even this practiced rabble-rouser never seemed able really to get going.

Exhibition of such reserve in a political campaign in Mississippi, where racial issues both real and manufactured are as necessary to politics as mustard is to a hot dog, is to be commended. This may be an indication that raucous racial-ranters of the Bilbo and Talmadge breed are really on their way out in the South. But before we get too optimistic let us take a second look at the Mississippi campaign.

Representative Rankin hauled out most of the southern bogies and all four of his opponents either said or implied that they were as much in favor of "white supremacy" as he. However, the Mississippi dirt farmer seems to have regarded any direct racial appeal as a pretty shabby dodge of real issues and voted accordingly. They voted in Mr. John Cornelius Stennis, a DeKalb circuit judge.

The *Atlanta Constitution* dubbed Senator-Elect Stennis a "quiet campaigner," because, apparently, Mr. Stennis would not let his opponent back him into a race-relations corner. He sidestepped the "white supremacy" issue with a pat quotation from his father: "I asked my father what I should say about the race problem. He said, 'nothing.' And that is what I am doing." And when his opponents would remind him that the report of Mr. Truman's Civil Rights Committee was Yankee interference in southern affairs, he neatly avoided that issue with the remark: "Our customs and traditions may be assailed, but we stand firm in our rights to make our own decisions about such matters."

Senator-Elect Stennis seems a Bilbo heir minus the master's voice but not the master's racial beliefs.

Scurlock Scurlock Vishniac

AMONG THE COAUTHORS *of "A Statement on the Denial of Human Rights" are, from L to R, Rayford W. Logan, professor of history, Howard university; William R. Ming, Jr., associate professor, University of Chicago Legal Institute; Milton R. Konvitz, associate professor and director of research, School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell university; and Leslie S. Perry, administrative assistant, Washington bureau NAACP.*

Three Centuries of Discrimination

By W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

On October 23, 1947, the NAACP presented through its executive officers "A Statement on the Denial of Human Rights to Minorities in the Case of Citizens of Negro Descent in the United States of America and an Appeal to the United Nations for Redress." This 155-page document, prepared under the editorial supervision of Dr. Du Bois, was deposited in the office of the Department of Social Affairs, headed by Henri Laugier, Assistant Secretary General in Charge of Social Affairs. We print herewith a condensed version of Dr. Du Bois' introduction to the Statement, followed by abstracts of chapters 2-6

THERE were in the United States of America, 1940, 12,865,518 native-born citizens, something less than a tenth of the nation, who form largely a segregated caste, with restricted legal rights, and many illegal disabilities. They are descendants of the Africans brought to America during the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and reduced to slave labor. This group has no complete biological unity, but varies in color from white to black, and comprises a great variety of physical characteristics, since many are the offspring of white European-Americans as well as of Africans and American Indians. There are a large number of white Americans who also descend from Negroes but who are not counted in the colored group nor subjected to caste restrictions because the preponderance of white blood conceals their descent.

The so-called American Negro group, therefore, while it is in no sense absolutely set off physically from its fellow Americans has nevertheless a strong, hereditary cultural unity, born of slavery, of common suffering, prolonged proscription and curtailment of political and civil rights; and especially because of economic and social disabilities. Largely from this fact, have arisen their cultural gifts to America—their rhythm, music and folk-song; their religious faith and customs; their contribution to American art and literature; their defense of their country in every war, on land, sea and in the air; and especially the hard, continuous toil upon which the prosperity and wealth of this continent has largely been built.

The group has long been internally divided by dilemma as to whether its striving upward, should be aimed at strengthening its inner cultural and group bonds, both for intrinsic progress and for offensive power against caste; or whether it should seek escape wher-

Harrison's
COAUTHOR *Earl B. Dickerson, president of the National Bar Association.*

ever and however possible into the surrounding American culture. Decision in this matter has been largely determined by outer compulsion rather than inner plan; for prolonged policies of segregation and discrimination have involuntarily welded the mass almost into a nation within a nation with its own schools, churches, hospitals, newspapers and many business enterprises.

The result has been to make American Negroes to wide extent provincial, introvert, self-conscious and narrowly race-loyal; but it has also inspired them to frantic and often successful effort to achieve, to deserve, to show the world their capacity to share modern civilization. As a result there is almost no area of American civilization in which the Negro has not made creditable showing in the face of all his handicaps.

Color Caste System

If, however, the effect of the color caste system on the North American Negro has been both good and bad, its effect on white America has been disastrous. It has repeatedly led the greatest modern attempt at democratic government to deny its political ideals, to falsify its philanthropic assertions and to make its religion to a great extent hypocritical. A nation which boldly declared "That all men are created equal", proceeded to build its economy on chattel slavery; masters who declared race-mixture impossible, sold their own children into slavery and left a mulatto progeny which neither law nor science can today disentangle; churches which excused slavery as calling the heathen to God, refused to recognize the freedom of converts or admit them to equal communion. Sectional strife over the profits of slave labor and conscientious revolt against making human beings real estate led to bloody civil war, and to a partial emancipation of slaves which nevertheless even to this day is not complete. Poverty, ignorance, disease and crime have been forced on these unfortunate victims of greed to an extent far beyond any social necessity; and a great nation, which today ought to be in the forefront of the march toward peace and democracy, finds itself continuously making common cause with race-hate, prejudiced exploitation and oppression of the common man. Its high and noble words are turned against it, because they are contradicted in every syllable by the treatment of the American Negro for three hundred and twenty-eight years.

Slavery in America is a strange and contradictory story. It cannot be regarded as mainly either a theoretical problem of morals or a scientific problem of race. From either of these points of view, the rise of slavery in America is simply inexplicable. Looking at the facts frankly, slavery evidently was a matter of economics, a question of income and labor, rather than a problem of right and wrong, or of the physical differences in men. Once slavery began to be the source of vast income for men and nations, there followed frantic search for moral and racial justifications. Such excuses were found and men did not inquire too carefully into either their logic or truth.

The twenty Negroes brought to Virginia in 1619 were not the first who had landed on this continent. For a century small numbers of Negroes had been arriving as servants, as laborers, as free adventurers. The southwestern part of the present United States was first traversed by four explorers of whom one was an African Negro. Negroes accompanied early explorers like D'Ayllon and Menendez in the southwestern United States. But just as the earlier black visitors to the West Indies were servants and adventurers and then later began to appear as laborers on the sugar plantations, so in Virginia, these imported black laborers in 1619 and after, came to be wanted for the raising of tobacco which was the money crop.

In the minds of the early planters, there was no distinction as to labor whether it was white or black; in law there was at first no discrimination. But as imported white labor became scarcer and more protected by law, it became less profitable than Negro labor which flooded the markets because of European slave traders, internal strife in Africa; and because in America the Negroes were increasingly stripped of legal defense. For these reasons America became a land of black slavery, and there arose first, the fabulously rich sugar empire; then the cotton kingdom, and finally colonial imperialism.

Free v. Slave Labor

Then came the inevitable fight between free labor and democracy on the one hand, and slave labor with its huge profits on the other. Black slaves were the spearhead of this fight. They were the first in America to stage the "sit-down" strike, to slow up and sabotage the work of the plantation. They revolted time after time and no matter what recorded history may say, the enacted laws against slave revolt are unanswerable testimony as to what these revolts meant all over America.

The slaves themselves especially imperiled the whole slave system by escape from slavery. It was the fugitive slave more than the slave revolt, which finally threatened investment and income; and the organization for helping fugitive slaves through Free Northern Negroes and their white friends, in the guise of an underground movement, was of tremendous influence.

EDITOR *W. E. B. Du Bois, director Department of Special Research NAACP.*

Finally it was the Negro soldier as a co-fighter with the whites for independence from the British economic empire which began emancipation. The British bid for his help and the colonials against their first impulse had to bid in return and virtually to promise the Negro soldier freedom after the Revolutionary War. It was for the protection of American Negro sailors as well as white that the war of 1812 was precipitated and, after independence from England was accomplished, freedom for the black laboring class, and enfranchisement for whites and blacks was in sight.

In the meantime, however, white labor had continued to regard the United States as a place of refuge; as a place for free land; for continuous employment and high wage; for freedom of thought and faith. It was here, however, that employers intervened; not because of any moral obliquity but because the Industrial Revolution, based upon the crops raised by slave labor in the Caribbean and in the southern United States, was made possible by world trade and a new and astonishing technique; and finally was made triumphant by a vast transportation of slave labor through the British slave-trade in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

This new mass of slaves became competitors of white labor and drove white labor for refuge into the arms of employers, whose interests were founded on slave labor. The doctrine of race inferiority was used to convince white labor that they had the right to be free and to vote, while the Negroes must be slaves or depress the wage of whites; western free soil became additional lure and compensation, if it could be restricted to free labor.

On the other hand the fight of the slave-holders against democracy increased with the spread of the wealth and power of the Cotton Kingdom. Through political power based on slaves they became the dominant political force in the United States; they were successful in expanding into Mexico and tried to penetrate the Caribbean. Finally they demanded for slavery a part of the free soil of the West, and because of this last excessive, and in fact impossible effort, a Civil War to preserve and extend slavery ensued.

The Free Negro

This fight for slave labor was echoed in the law. The free Negro was systematically discouraged, disfranchised and reduced to serfdom. He became by law the easy victim of the kidnapper and liable to treatment as a fugitive slave. The Church, influenced by wealth and respectability, was predominately on the side of the slave owner and effort was made to make the degradation of the Negro, as a race, final by Supreme Court decision.

But from the beginning, the outcome of the Civil War was inevitable and this not mainly on account of the predominant wealth and power of the North; it was because of the clear fact that the Southern slave economy was built on black labor. If at any time the slaves or any large part of them, as workers ceased to support the South; and if even more decisively, as fighters they joined the North, there was no way in the world for the South to win. Just as soon then as slaves became spies for the invading Northern armies; laborers for their camps and fortifications, and finally produced 200,000 trained and efficient soldiers with arms in their hands, and with the possibility of a million more, the fate of the slave South was sealed.

Victory, however, brought dilemma; if victory meant full economic freedom for labor in the South, white and black; if it meant land and education, and eventually votes, then the slave empire was doomed, and the profits of Northern industry built on the Southern slave foundation would also be seriously curtailed. Northern industry had a stake in the Cotton Kingdom and in the cheap slave labor that supported it. It had expanded for war industries during the fighting, encouraged by government subsidy and eventually protected by a huge tariff rampart. When war profits declined there was still prospect of tremendous post war profits on cotton and other products of Southern agriculture. Therefore, what the North wanted was not freedom and higher wage for black labor, but its control under such forms of law as would keep it cheap; and also stop its open competition with Northern labor. The moral protest of abolitionists must be appeased but profitable industry was determined to control wages and government.

The result was an attempt at Reconstruction in which black labor established schools; tried to divide up the land and put a new social legislation in force. On the other hand, the power of Southern land owners soon joined with Northern industry to disfranchise the Negro; keep him from access to free land or to capital, and to build up the present caste system for blacks founded on color discrimination, peonage, intimidation and mob-violence.

It is this fact that underlies many of the contradictions in the social and political development of the United States since the Civil War. Despite our resources and our miraculous technique; despite comparatively high wage paid many of our workers and their consequent high standard of living, we are nevertheless ruled by wealth, monopoly and big business organization to an astounding degree. Our railway transportation is built upon monumental economic injustice both to passengers, shippers and to different sections of the land. The monopoly of land and

(Continued on page 379)

PETITION TO UNITED NATIONS—*Dr. Du Bois presents the petition to Henri Laugier, assistant secretary general for social affairs. Left, Walter White, secretary NAACP; Dr. Du Bois; E. H. Lawson, human rights division UN; John P. Humphrey, director division human rights UN; and Henri Laugier, seated.*

Stanley from Keystone Pictures Inc.

Gold Men and Silver Men

By George W. Westerman

MEN are not white, brown or black in the Panama Canal Zone—they are gold and silver. For forty-three years they have been measured by these units of metals, but things are now changing. Some of the stigma attached to this classification of "superiority" and "inferiority" is gradually being removed and a new day is visible on the horizon. At least that is the hope of more than 35,000 workers on the Canal Zone who are not American citizens.

American jim-crow masquerades in the Panama Canal Zone under the guise of "gold" and "silver" employees. How this system functions in an administrative area of 552.8 square miles with a civilian population of some 60,000 people is described herewith

The terms "gold" and "silver" divide into two classifications the working force employed by the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad Company of the United States Government on the Isthmus of Panama. In common parlance an employee is cited as belonging to the "gold roll" or the "silver roll." These classifications originated in 1904 during the construction of the Panama Canal, one of the world's most gigantic engineering feats. Several versions have been advanced to account for the origin of these terms.

One explanation is that the West Indian immigrants who comprised the bulk of the laboring forces which built the Canal preferred to receive their pay in large silver dollars instead of the small gold coins demanded by white Americans. Another viewpoint is that since designation of workers by color was offensive to the republics of Panama and Colombia and since the West Indians were unaccustomed in their island homes to such differentiations, the local representatives of the United States' interests devised this novel standard of stratification.

The official position, held to this day, is that this unique terminology differentiates between the common laborers and the unskilled or semi-skilled craftsmen and those occupying executive, professional, and similar positions on the other.

The Gold Payroll

The gold employees, however, that is, those carried on the gold payroll, comprise those workers who are engaged in the skilled trades and in the executive, supervisory, professional, subprofessional, clerical, and other positions where education, training, and special qualifications are required. The force of silver employees is composed almost entirely of natives of the tropics in unskilled positions, 75 per cent of whom are Panamanians. The other 25 per cent are citizens of other Central and South American countries and the Caribbean Islands.

GOVERNOR GENERAL *of the Canal Zone, tall, affable Major General Joseph C. Mehaffey. During his administration, silver employees have experienced their most notable improvements in working and living conditions.*

Although all employees are now paid in United States Currency, the original terms used to designate the two classes of employees have been retained. Many American authorities on the Canal Zone have heretofore contended that necessities of the situation make it imperative to follow the policy of differentiating between races and classes; but the present governor of the Canal Zone has had the courage to break with this tradition and has publicly shown his contempt for this philosophy.

By applying the "gold" and "silver" standards to housing, commissaries, clubhouses and other public facilities operating on the Canal Zone, the terms have not merely had an economic connotation, but have become synonomous with superiority and inferiority. This gold and silver contrast was extended to the posting of obnoxious and humiliating signs in public buildings such as post offices, railroad stations, pay windows, and the offices of other public utilities. All urinals and toilets, water fountains, and working places carried "gold" and "silver" signs indicating where employees in the two categories should be accommodated.

Annual Wages

The average annual wage of the "silver" employees is $806, while that of the "gold" American employee exceeds $3,000. Recent comparative figures showed that 3,800 "gold" workers received an annual salary of $15,000,106 while 12,000 "silver" workers received only $10,000,313 for the same period.

SORTING MAIL *in the Canal Zone. Monthly wage of this gold worker is* $250 . . .

The economic philosophy of 1900 was really the cause of this dual standard of living. American economists then applied the "treasure concept" in economics, in which the importer kept as much as he could and gave as little as possible to the exporter. In other words, the employment of the "tropic laborer" was a form of importation for which as little as possible should be given.

This was a period of bimetallism when the gold and silver currency of the United States was used throughout this hemisphere, if not the world. Because this principle was applied to normal trade the importation of the foreign laborer suggested too great an advantage for him if he were paid in American gold; and it was regarded as an advantage to the importer—in this instance, the United States Government, to give as little "treasure" as possible to the imported non-white laborer.

Since these were defenseless people it was easy to apply the principle of no gold at all, paying them in silver. The large silver coins were difficult to carry, and consequently to save, as contrasted with the smaller gold ones which were more highly treasured. In order, then, to stimulate spending among the non-whites, wages were paid in silver. Twenty-five years later the records show that these "silver" employees who had been paid in bulky and inconvenient currency, having spent a disproportionate amount of their silver dollars, were then and thereafter called wasteful and improvident.

While this principle was being applied throughout the years, the economy of Panama and neighboring states was not placed at a disadvantage because of the unbalanced spending. On the other hand, this double standard tainted the social picture of the entire area, developing meanwhile an association in which "gold" was attached to English-speaking whites and "silver" to all others. When Panamanian laborers became the majority and were then in a position to demand employment under the same system, and because of treaty obligations were entitled to equality of employment status, it was found that the English-speaking white Americans resented the extension of the "gold" tribute even to them.

Political Wrangling

This refusal to grant equal employment status on the Canal Zone to Panamanians, Costa Ricans, Ecuadorians and others, has today resulted in considerable diplomatic and political wrangling among the governments affected. Under these circumstances the Republic of Panama stands in the forefront of this fight for equal employment status and the complete abolishment of the "gold" and "silver" standards, with their undemocratic consequences.

The United Public Workers of America, CIO, aligned itself with the fight last July, and it introduced remedial legislation in the present United States Congress.

Within recent months the "gold" and "silver" signs have been removed from public places, and employees working on the "silver" rolls were immediately relieved of a tremendous psychological strain.

Although the Panamanian government, the press of Panama, and numerous liberal forces on the Isthmus have joined from time to time in the struggle against the gold and silver discriminatory practices, it is doubtful

NEGRO PUMP OPERATOR *on 400-ton U. S. Army barge gets* $135 *a month . . . white operator receives* $400.

. . . monthly wage of this silver worker is $85.

if the present changes would now be under way were it not for the sympathetic understanding and democratic attributes of Governor J. C. Mehaffey, his executive secretary, Frank Wang, and several other high-minded Americans.

These top Canal officials give the impression that they are in open disagreement with the narrow and provincial concept which dictates that in this enlightened era economic and social conditions between two classes of workers of the United States Federal Government should be so manifestly unequitable. They have agreed upon a program of future improvements which augurs well for the underprivileged "silver" workers; a program which, if supported by Washington, should lift an entire army of working people from the depths of demoralization.

In those instances where social conflicts were expected by the removal of the signs inaugurating the use of non-separate facilities, none has developed. Gold and silver employees – white and non-white – now mingle naturally. This is a hopeful trend, for it points up the fact that the entire discriminatory pattern enforced these many years under the aegis of the United States Government can be ultimately eliminated without fear of social upheaval.

It must be noted, however, that in spite of changes designed to provide unrestricted public services, as long as this dual system of *gold* and *silver* is permitted to obtain the pattern of segregation will continue to exist, as is now evident in connection with the commissaries, clubhouses, schools and recreational facilities.

When we consider the vital importance of the Panama Canal in the system of hemispheric defense, it is obvious that the peoples inhabiting this area should live in constant harmony with one another. The responsibility

of the United States Government in this respect cannot be too heavily underscored. The peoples of these United States cannot minimize the role of the Western Hemisphere in the development of world unity. This unity might best be served through the development of mutually helpful relations among the peoples who must live and work together on the strategically positioned Isthmus of Panama.

American-Panamanian Treaty

Although since 1908 the United States had expressed a policy of harmony between our two nations, and equality of opportunity of their working forces, it was not until the 1936 United States-Panama Treaty that a policy was actually enunciated assuring to Panamanian citizens employed by the Canal Administration equality of opportunity and treatment with American employees.

The extent to which this policy has NOT been carried out, however, can be observed from present statistics which show that of the 5,000 gold roll positions only 54 are filled by citizens of Panama.

President Truman's Executive Order 9830 of last April made Panamanians eligible for Civil Service positions as of May 1, 1947, thereby opening up certain semi-skilled and skilled positions heretofore closed to them. At the same time it will make secure the better type positions which many of them hold but which are now unclassified.

President Truman's liberal ruling was bitterly opposed by white American labor unionists of the AFL in continuation of their 32-year old agitation against the alien silver employees on the Canal Zone.

Came June, 1947, and a total of 380 Panamanians sat among the 1,300 candidates for the Civil Service examinations held in the Canal Zone, marking the first time in the history of the Panama Canal organization that United States citizenship requirements were waived for civil service applicants.

Of the three major agencies conducting the affairs of the United States Government on the Isthmus, the Army has always been the most liberal in its policy toward non-Americans. Army headquarters have already announced that if all Civil Service requirements are met, Panamanian citizens will be eligible for clerical positions with that branch of the service. The Panama Canal and Navy remain hesitant in their willingness to favor Panamanian civil service applicants who might have successfully complied with the provisions of the Executive Order.

Panamanians, and silver employees in general, view EO-9830 as evidence that the White House would have all workers on the Canal Zone share the American freedoms limited only by those truly relevant qualities of ability, industry, and character, of which he spoke at the 38th Annual Conference of the NAACP.

Equality of employment opportunity and improved living conditions in line with progressive American labor and social standards must be immediately enforced on the Canal Zone. Here every act of the United States is measured by other Latin American countries in terms of goodwill and hemispheric solidarity. Time spent in winning friends in Latin America will pay greater dividends than time spent in excoriating enemies in Europe. Now is the time for the United States to adopt policies in the area of the Canal Zone which will create conditions for the practice of a dynamic and positive democracy.

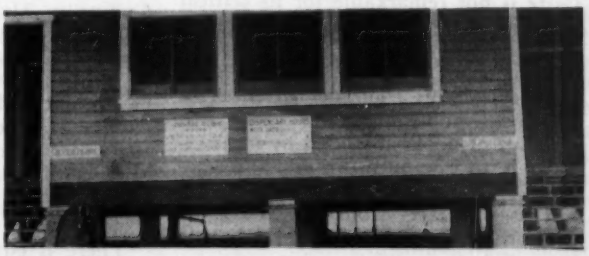
You Can Help

This sorrowing bit of news comes from W. J. Granberg, author of "Dream's End" in the October Crisis:

" 'Dream's End' almost became 'dream's end' literally for the Robert Leonard family. But neighbors and Seattleites rallied to their aid and the dream goes on. Hardly had *The Crisis* reached its subscribers when fire struck the Leonard family, on October 12, destroying their home and everything in it, including $183 in cash.

"Public response to their plight was quick and gratifying, revealing the regard with which that hard-working family is held. The Leonards still have their farm, of course, and will now work toward a new home."

Donations for the Leonard family may be sent to the *Post-Intelligencer*, Seattle, Washington.



DISPENSARY *at Cocoli, C. Z. Shown here is a pattern of gold and silver signs ("Silver Clinic" on left; "Gold Clinic" on right) formerly painted on public buildings throughout the Canal Zone.*

CIVIL SERVICE CLERICAL EXAMINATIONS—*First examinations conducted under new Civil Service Regulation 2,103, Balboa, C. Z., admitting citizens of Panama to examinations for employment on the Panama Canal-Panama Railroad as of May 1, 1947.*

Books As Ambassadors

By Cedric Dover

Books may be the unofficial ambassadors for American Negro achievement in cultured English circles

MORE than ten years ago the Rosenwald Fund, advised by Charles S. Johnson, sent me a small "Negro library" on which a decade of close interest in Aframerica has grown. I was studying "race and color" problems at the time, but my knowledge of Negroes was general and scientific: it had no intimate perspective. That little library, shrewdly comprising both sociological and creative work, gave me the foundations of a personal approach which developed quickly and expressed itself first in *Half-Caste* (1937) and then in later books. *Half-Caste* is not remarkable for its critical understanding of Negro culture, but it is the first book in which another man of color [*Dover is Eurasian—Ed.*] tried to get his comrades in America into focus—and the attempt began with a parcel of books intended by its senders only to give pleasure and information.

This is a facet from one man's experience of the influence of books. It is an influence which gathers its own momentum. I grew acquisitive and enlarged the collection, I pursued Negro culture and affairs to the limit of my ability; and the books, photographs and information I acquired have in turn influenced others who felt that the rise of Negro achievement had a wide significance which they should investigate. But the development of this interest needs more help than a few individuals can give. Therefore it remains keen and well- intentioned, but largely uninformed and sometimes misleading. For example, in two recent anthologies which have had wide currency in Britain, Waring Cuney's poem "Hard Times" is printed as a folksong discovered by Joshua White. Again the Workers' Musical Association published a best-selling pamphlet by Iain Long entitled *Background of the Blues,* which satisfies the hunger of our jazz enthusiasts, but gives them a very ordinary meal.

There have been innumerable articles, too, in our progressive magazines, which show enthusiasm and sensitiveness but little background. Try if you can, for instance, to see Denis Preston's "No Such House" in *New Road* 1944 (Grey Walls Press, London, W.C.1.). It is subtitled "A Short Survey of Afro-American Folkart," but you will look in vain for such a survey. It quotes Gobineau, Herbert Read and Roger Fry and deals with "fundamentals." The author has been driven, because he had no survey to give, into himself and has accordingly produced a highly colored, staccato piece of personal writing which reads like a film script.

Meagre Background

There is equal penetration but less color in "Promise of Victory: A Note on the Negro Spirituals" in A. L. Morton's *Language of Men* (Cobbett Press, 2 Southampton Row, London, W.C.1) a discerning, finely chiselled book which writers in particular should read. But here also one feels that the author could have told us so much more, given us a meal instead of *hors d'oeuvres,* if he had found the opportunity to study the spirituals carefully.

Finally there is *Marxism and Poetry* (Lawrence and Wishart, Southampton Row, London, W.C.1.) by George Thomson, professor of Greek at Birmingham University and a well-known authority on English, Greek and Irish poetry. Anyone, Marxist or not, will agree that it is probably the best short survey of the development of poetry that has been written. Its thesis, of course, is the connexion between poetry and labor—a subject literally crying out for consideration of Aframerican folk poetry, especially the worksongs. Yet there is no more than a passing reference to "the negro spirituals, which inculcate Bible teaching at the same time as they soothe the laborers at their task." The use of the lower case, the misinformation, and the complete ignorance of Negro folksongs contained in these few words is made all the more shocking by the author's learning and grasp in other directions.

Yet one cannot blame these writers. Much of the interest in Negro culture has grown since the War, when American books were almost impossible to get. Today the bookshops offer no American books other than a few approved as "educational." They cater mostly to those who wish to "brush up on their U.S.A.", while those who are interested in creative writing may not even send money out of the country to purchase what they want individually. The result is a situation inimical to America generally, which Washington should seriously consider.

The libraries do not help much. They are full of vetted and exchange books which disregard the needs of specialist students, simply because they do not have the money to buy American books and would not be allowed to buy outside the restricted limits even if they had. The finest library in the country, the British Museum Library, has always been surprisingly poor in Negro material and has naturally grown worse in the last ten years; the main reason being that it receives British books free, while it has to buy American books or receive them as donations.

Gaps Depressing

The gaps are depressing. There is no copy of *Slave Songs of the United States* by Allen, Ware and Garrison, to cite only one of many omissions in the older collections. Among the recent poets Claude McKay is represented by his novels, the book of poems published in England and Jamaica, and *Harlem,* but not *Harlem Shadows,* or *A Long Way From Home.* Langston Hughes

peters out in the catalogue with *The Dream Keeper* (1932). Sterling Brown's *Southern Road*, the most important book of Negro poetry yet published, is not included. Dr. W. E. B. DuBois' *Dusk of Dawn* is unobtainable there or anywhere else in England. One could go on enlarging the list. Countee Cullen, on the other hand, is fully represented, because he was popular with English intellectuals and Harper's, his publisher, is energetic on this side of the Atlantic.

What is the remedy? Much can be done and it is important to the Negro and to world culture that it should be done urgently. Books *are* ambassadors and it is up to us to see that they function as fully as they should. The first consideration, of course, is for the British and American governments to remove the restrictions on books, and Negro organizations should cooperate in representing the matter. There should also be a collective effort to establish working Negro libraries in three or four important centres outside America, certainly in London, Paris, and Calcutta. In London, the best place would be the American Library attached to the American Embassy.

But when this is done there still remains the individual responsibility of authors and publishers. I suggest that every Negro author should write to The Director, British Museum, London, W.C.1., asking for a list of his or her books available in the Library and stating the intention to try and complete it. Next, publishers should be instructed to send complimentary copies at least to the British Museum and the Imperial Library in Calcutta, though some other national libraries might also be included.

English Publication

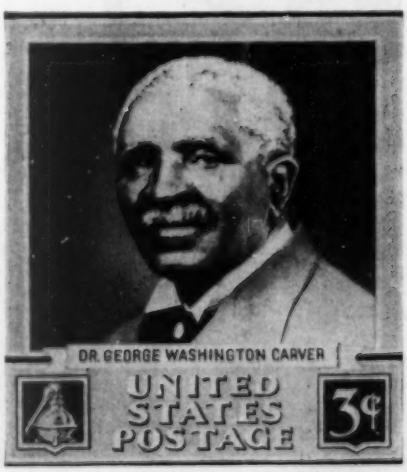
And, of course, Negro authors should make an effort to be published in England. The enormous success of Richard Wright's books in their English editions, and of James Weldon Johnson's *Along This Way* as a "Penguin," suggests that it would be well worth the trouble. Many books could be published as printed in the States, others might need some rearrangement for the British market. In the latter respect I am thinking mostly of poetry. It would be impossible to get Langston Hughes, Claude McKay, Countee Cullen or Sterling Brown merely reprinted here, but selected editions of all their poetic output could easily be published. It would be useful, too, if the books and periodical writings of men like W. E. B. Du Bois, Alain Locke, Walter White, Charles S. Johnson, James Weldon Johnson, and others who have served the Negro cause for a life time, were carefully sifted and built into "omnibus" volumes carrying the spirit and essence of their work. [*A book embodying some of the features suggested here is* THE NEGRO CARAVAN, *edited by Sterling A. Brown, Arthur P. Davis, and Ulysses Lee.—Ed.*]

All this will, I hope, be regarded as a basis for further discussion and consideration. My purpose has been to provide a pointer and state a need that we who are outside America feel very badly. And if I can help Negro writers in any way, I should be happy if this note will make them feel that I am completely at their service.

Acme

EVICTED FOR DATING NEGRO—*Iris Alexander, of New York City, was evicted from her rooming house in Madison, Wisconsin, on October 30 because she returned home from a party with a Negro student. A junior at the University of Wisconsin, Miss Alexander is chairman of the social relations committee of the University Student Board. Constance Felton, of Brooklyn, was also evicted by the rooming house proprietors, Mr. and Mrs. Arthur H. Rupe, for supporting Miss Alexander.*

WHY ENGOURAGE MIXING races?



Acme

NEW STAMP *to honor Negro scientist, Dr. George Washington Carver. Stamp will go on sale at Tuskegee Institute, January 5, 1948.*

PROGRESS IN LAS VEGAS

LAST year I wrote about Las Vegas, Nevada. Since that time I think Las Vegans have made great progress, and the NAACP under the presidency of Wm. H. Stevens Jr. has done much to facilitate that progress. Stevens is a graduate of Chapman college in Los Angeles and he has also done graduate work at the University of Southern California in Los Angeles. At present he is supply pastor of the Zion Methodist church here.

In September, 1946, a Negro teacher, Mrs. Mable Wimms, a graduate of Virginia State, was added to the faculty of the Las Vegas public schools, and this September two more Negro teachers were added, Henry Moore and H. P. Fitzgerald. Moore, a graduate of the University of Wisconsin with a M.S. degree, has been employed by the United States Government in the chemistry department of the Bureau of Mines at Boulder City, Nevada, for the past four years. Moore's family is the only colored family living in Boulder City. Mrs. Moore taught home economics in summer school one year there; although there was some difficulties over her teaching, ill-health was the only thing that prevented renewal of her contract. She is now doing seamstress work for the leading stores of Boulder City. Fitzgerald is also a graduate of Virginia State.

A boy scout troop and a girl scout troop have been organized and are taking part in all activities with other scout troops of Las Vegas. Four boys and ten girls from the two groups went to scout camp this summer.

Emily Wheatley, who worked with the USO during the War, has remained in Las Vegas and is now director of the Westside Community Center, housed in the USO building. Miss Wheatley studied at Columbia university in New York, Morgan college in Baltimore and the Chicago School of Art in Chicago. Sarah Murell, from Fayette, Maine, assists Miss Wheatley in the community-center program. Miss Murell studied at Hunter college in New York and at

BEAUTIFUL HOME *of Mr. and Mrs. LeRoy Christensen, Las Vegas, Nevada.*

the American university in Washington, D. C. During the War she served with the American Red Cross in the Philippines, Japan, and other Pacific areas.

A swimming pool was added to the Community Center this summer; William Boswell and James Gay, who took a Red Cross life-saving training course at Lake Elisnore, Calif., are now employed as life guards at the pool. Gay, a graduate of the University of Arkansas, is also a licensed embalmer. Boswell is a graduate of the University of California at Berkeley.

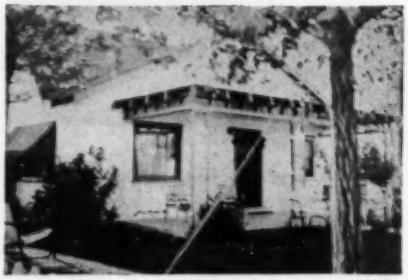
A doctor has come to live in our community, Dr. Roy G. Hay, a native of Panama City, Panama. He received his Ph.B. degree from the University of Panama, studied one year at Edinburgh university, Scotland, and received his M.D. degree from the University of Kansas, School of Medicine.

Four young veterans of World War II have been added to the Las Vegas police department: Herman Moody, David Hogarth, Walter Childers and Mack Fincher. These men are not just on a beat on the Westside, but drive one of the patrol cars. A Negro girl was employed in the County Assessor's office as typist clerk during the automobile tag renewal period.

Mail is now being delivered on the Westside, and street lights have been placed on practically all Westside streets. More and better homes are being built, though it will take time to eliminate the hastily war-built shacks erected when it was impossible to get building material, but they will eventually disappear. Las Vegas is growing and many people are coming here for their health, since the desert is very healthful.

At present the NAACP is working on swimming pool discrimination, since there are two pools: one for colored and one for white. It also investigated the condition of workers at Davis Dam last spring.

VERLENE STEVENS.



BUNGALOW *belonging ot Miss C. Harrison, Las Vegas, Nevada.*

BOASTER

Chain me not with your rules, they were made for a clod;
Chide me not if I laugh, if I shout, if I sing;

I am more than a beast, I've the soul of a god
And as light as the wind, or a bird on the wing.

As deathless as stars, and deny if you can

There's glory Eternal, for I am a man.

—Lelia M. Thornton.

QUESTION OF FAITH

Give me a little time to think,
A little time to reason;
I cannot satisfy my need
By mere acceptance of a creed:

To do so would be treason.
Give me a little time to test
The truth of what you're saying.
Words piled on words can little mean:
I must have time to look between:
I must have time for praying.

—Lelia M. Thornton.

Wide World

NEGRO FOUNDER *of all-white boys' club, Albert Merritt, 75, of Martinsville, Indiana. Merritt takes a group of his boys for one of the pleasure trips financed by his tips at the Martinsville Sanitarium.*

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

Acme

PRESIDENT TRUMAN PICTURED WITH CIVIL RIGHTS COMMITTEE—*Second from left is Dr. Channing Tobias of New York; standing at the President's right, Mrs. Sadie Alexander of Philadelphia; and between Mrs. Alexander and President Truman, Charles E. Wilson, chairman of committee and president of General Electric.*

CIVIL RIGHTS

President Truman's Committee Reports: One of the most straight-spoken documents to be issued under government auspices is the report of The President's Committee on Civil Rights, presented by the committee to President Truman on October 29, 1947. "To Secure These Rights," the title of the report comes from a phrase in the Declaration of Independence, gives a careful analysis of the extent of the violations of civil rights in the United States and then offers a series of practical suggestions as to how the American people can best cope with these infractions. The report is epoch-making not for any originality of discovery or interpretation, but because of the stature of the committee which drew it up and because is has the official endorsement of the president of the United States.

"I am going to read and study this report with great care and I recommend to all my countrymen that they do the same thing . . . The need for such a charter was never greater than at this moment . . .," said Mr. Truman.

Thurgood Marshall, NAACP chief counsel, has pledged fullest support of the recommendations of the committee, and adds that the NAACP is naturally gratified since the suggestion for such a committee was made to President Truman at a conference in the White House, September 19, 1946, by a committee of citizens assembled by the Association following the Columbia, Tennessee, disturbances and the Monroe, Georgia, lynchings of last year. President Truman created the fifteen-member committee by executive order on December 5, 1946. In a wire to President Truman, Walter White, on behalf of the Association, characterizes the report as "beyond all question the most forthright governmental pronouncement of a practical program for assurance of civil rights . . . to all Americans which has yet been drafted." And the New York *Herald Tribune* stated editorially in its issue of October 30, 1947, that the recommendations of the report when "Consolidated into a single program make up a massive attack upon prejudice itself—an attack on the blindness, the barbarisms, the denials of right and opportunity still marring our democracy . . ."

The 178-page report is divided into four sections: (1) "The American Heritage: the Promise of Freedom, Equality," (2) "The Record: Short of the Goal," (3) "Government's Responsibility: Securing the Rights," and (4) "A Program of Action: the Committee's Recommendations."

Among the failures the report notes: "Too many of our people still live under the harrowing fear of violence or death at the hands of a mob or of brutal treatment by police officers." Though the report calls attention to the decline in lynchings, it states that "lynching remains one of the most serious threats to the civil rights of Americans."

Police brutality "against Negroes . . . is a serious reflection on American justice." "It is particularly unfortunate that the jury system has not always served to protect the rights of the minority to a fair trial."

Peonage is a threat to the uneducated and the underprivileged, and "If economic conditions deteriorate, a more general recurrence of peonage may be anticipated." "The most striking mass interference since slavery with the right to physical freedom was the evacuation and exclusion of persons of Japanese descent from the West Coast during the past war."

"The denial of the suffrage on account of race is the most serious present interference with the right to vote. . . . The poll tax has curtailed the size of the entire electorate, white and Negro."

Negroes suffer from discrimination in the armed services and bias in the national guards. Discrimination in hiring policies are "most acutely felt by minority group members in their inability to get a job suited to their qualifications."

The South's segregated school system directly discriminates against the Negro and opportunities for Negroes in public institutions at the professional and graduate level in the South "are severely limited."

"The District of Columbia should symbolize to our own citizens and to the people of all countries our great tradition of civil liberty. Instead, it is a graphic illustration of a failure of a democracy."

Among remedial measures the report suggests:

"The reorganization of the Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice to provide for: the establishment of regional offices; a substantial increase in its appropriations . . .; an increase in investigative action in the absence of complaints; the greater use of civil sanctions; and its elevation to the status of a full division in the Department of Justice."

The establishment of a special civil rights unit within the FBI; the establishment of a permanent commission on civil rights; action by the states and Congress to end poll taxes as a voting prerequisite; establishment of local self-government in the District of Columbia as well as abolition of racial discrimination and segregation; abolition of discrimination in the armed services; enactment of a federal FEPC act; enactment by the states of laws outlawing restrictive covenants; the enactment by Congress of an anti-lynching law; and elimination of segregation based on race, color, creed, or national origin, from American life.

JIM CROW

North and South: Among recent cases of jim crow which have been brought to the attention of the national office are the following. In White Plains, N. Y., the attempt of the YMCA to set up a jim-crow branch has been denounced by prominent Negro civic and community leaders. The fight against the segregated YMCA is being led by the White Plains branch, which is calling for an "end of the preposterous claim that Negroes of White Plains want a jim-crow YMCA." Negroes want integration in the present YMCA.

Because of the segregated housing policies of the FHA at Willow Run, Michigan, the board of education in that township has found it possible to

ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP DRIVE *of Baltimore, Md., branch was endorsed by Henry A. Wallace as he took out a personal membership. Clarence Parham, executive secretary branch, Mr. Wallace, and Marion O. Bond, campaign director.*

set up a system of partially segregated schools. Irate Negro parents and other groups picketed the jim-crow school in September when colored children were transferred from the mixed Ross school.

Fletcher C. Waller, director of the office of organization and personnel of the Atomic Energy Commission, pledges to NAACP labor secretary Clarence Mitchell that the AEC will not permit discrimination in its hiring policies on the basis of race.

In Atlanta, Georgia, the suit to equalize the salaries of the Atlanta Negro teachers began trial in the U. S. District Court in that city on November 10. As result of a series of contrived postponements, the case had been pending since 1943.

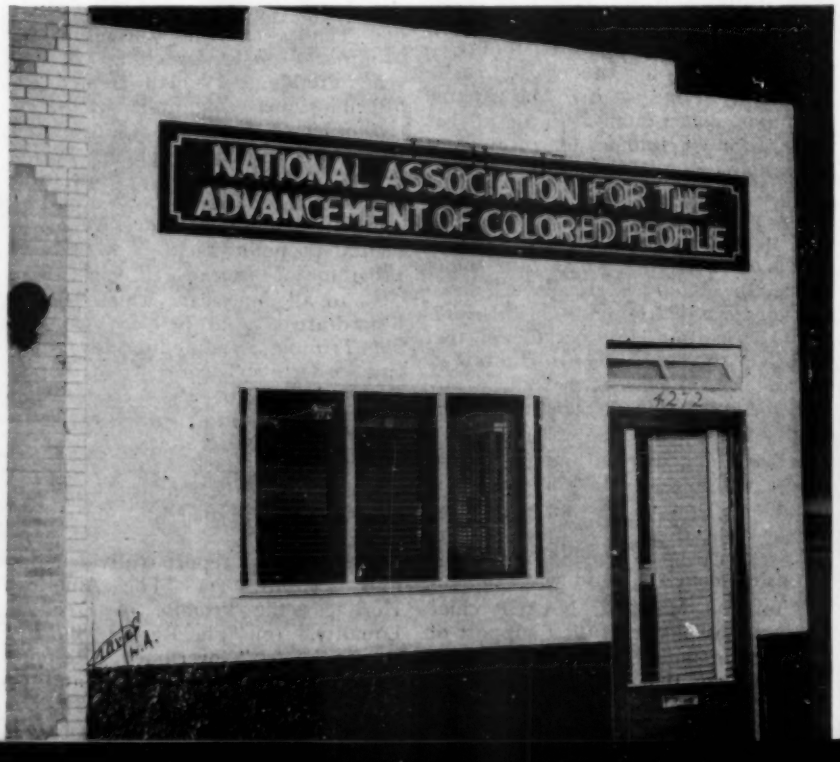
MEDICINE

Medical Program Suggested: The Association has urged that President Truman give consideration to the following eight-point medical program:

(1) Opening the doors of existing medical schools to properly qualified Negro candidates. (2) Strategic location of new medical schools, if constructed, where they can serve all qualified students regardless of race. They should not be constructed as exclusively Negro schools and none should be located in the South unless the federal government is willing to protect attending Negro students at all times from physical violence. (3) Expansion of Howard and Meharry by federal funds should be contemplated only in proportion to the expansion of other medical schools and not as a major contribution to Negro medical education. (4) Improvement on all levels of present substandard premedical training for Negroes in the South.

(5) Federal scholarship aid to needy students of all races in standard medical schools through the Federal Security Agency. Jim-crow scholarships

NEW OFFICE—*Exterior night view of new office of Los Angeles, California, branch at 4272 South Central Avenue showing neon sign.*



are neither desired nor wanted. (6) Non-discrimination in awarding interneships and residencies in accordance with the non-discrimination provision of the Hall-Burton hospital construction bill.

(7) Extension of the program of the Public Health Service to whites and Negroes in the South where it is most needed. Integration of Negro professional personnel at all levels. (8) Making rural and semi-rural areas of the South habitable for trained physicians and their families, since the need for medical care of both whites and Negroes is most acute here.

COURT CASES

Patton Appeal: The case of *Eddie ("Buster") Patton* v. *Mississippi* was argued before the U. S. Supreme Court during the last of November. Patton was tried and convicted by the circuit court of Lauderdale county, Mississippi, for the alleged murder of Jim Meadows, a white man, and sentenced to death by electrocution. Upon appeal to the highest court of Mississippi, the conviction was affirmed and the sentence ordered executed. By a writ of certiorari the Association brought the case before the U. S. Supreme Court on the grounds that Negroes have been systematically excluded from grand and petit juries in Lauderdale county and that force and duress was used in extracting the alleged confession from Patton.

Richland Appeal: Members of the Democratic executive committee of Richland county, S. C., and the election managers of Ward 9, precinct of that county, who are appealing the recent decisions of U. S. District Court Judge J. Waites Waring, restraining them from refusing to permit qualified Negroes from voting in the Democratic primaries of South Carolina, argued their appeal in the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit, meeting in Baltimore, Md., on November 18.

The original suit was filed by the NAACP on behalf of George Elmore and other Negroes similarly situated in the United States District Court for the Eastern District of South Carolina on February 21, 1947. Judge Waring ruled on July 12, 1947, that the Democratic primary conducted by these defendants was not an activity of a private voluntary association as contended by the defendants, and held further that although in 1944 the state of South Carolina had repealed all of its state statutes regulating primary elections, these defendants were still performing the same state function as had been performed prior to this repeal,

Thomas

CHARTER MEMBER *Montgomery, Alabama, youth council, Jimmie L. Robinson.*

since they were continuing to conduct the only effective election in the state.

What the Branches Are Doing

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: First complete-membership fall meeting of the WASHINGTON branch was held on October 19 in the John Wesley church, 14th and Corcoran Streets, N.W. Main topics of discussion were the suit against the board of education for complete integration of colored pupils in the school system and discussion of local police problems.

A concerted drive for funds to support the suit against the Washington board of education has already been launched by the branch. The suit was filed by the legal staff, headed by Dr. Leon A. Ransome, and represents the case of Marguerite Daisy Carr, who "brings this action not only in respect of her own complaints, but on behalf of all such others so similarly situated," versus Hobart M. Corning, as superintendent of the public schools, and all members of the board of education.

The complaint asks for a "mandatory injunction and for a declaratory judgment" and requests that the District Court of the United States for the District of Columbia advance "this cause upon the docket of the court" for a speedy trial of the issue, said issue being that neither the laws of the United States nor the laws of the District of Columbia make the establishment or maintenance of separate schools for the white and Negro races in the District of Columbia mandatory; that the defendants have exceeded their power and authority and have acted without even the color of the law, requiring the plaintiff and those on whose behalf she sues to attend separate and segregated schools solely on account of their race and color.

Marguerite Daisy Carr, the plaintiff, is a student in the Browne junior high school, located at 24th Street and Benning Road, N.E., which has a rated student capacity of 888 pupils. Yet the actual student body consists of 1,707 pupils, with the result that the period of instruction in Browne is divided into two part-time sessions of four and one-half hours of instruction each as contrasted with the standard six-hour period of instruction required by the rules and regulations of the board of education.

Denied the type of instruction, and the hours, demanded by law, Miss Carr asked the principal of Browne to give her the full-time course of instruction for junior high-school pupils as demanded by law. When he refused, she asked the superintendent and the board of education to transfer her from Browne to the junior high school "next most adjacent to

INTERIOR VIEW *new offices Los Angeles, California, branch: Mildred Sanders, office secretary; Lorenzo Bowdoin, chairman housing committee; standing, Thomas L. Griffith, Jr., branch president.*

her residence"—the Eliot junior high school. This transfer was refused on the ground that Eliot is for the use of white students only. Then Miss Carr applied directly to Eliot for admission, and was again refused. And now her cause is in the hands of the branch and the court.

IOWA: A report-meeting of the DES MOINES branch was held October 19 in the Bethel AME church, with reports from the national convention by Charles P. Howard, Mrs. James B. Morris, and Ike Smalls. Musical selections were rendered by the Songfellows of the Corinthian Baptist church and the Crescent Chorus of the Crescent Beauty School.

NEW JERSEY: Rev. Spurgeon Harmon, pastor of Quinn Chapel AME church, and Stanford Welcker, president of the LONG BRANCH unit of the NAACP, spoke on the proposed new state constitution at an open forum on October 15. Milton Lipton explained the new cooperative movement in Long Branch and urged members of the audience to join.

In recognition of the important role of club women in the life of the community and in appreciation of their support of the NAACP, the ATLANTIC CITY branch on October 6 sponsored a "Ladies Night." The four club women who addressed the group were Mrs. Amy Noble Geiwitz, regional organizer for the civil liberties department of the South Jersey Elks; Mrs. Edith P. Marshall, president of the Ladies medical auxiliary of New Jersey; Mrs. Margaret L. Caution, newly elected president of the Federation of Women's Clubs of New Jersey; and Mrs. Naomi Hatcher, president of the South Jersey District of Women's Clubs.

Branch-president James E. King presented corsages to the guests of honor, to the women workers in the membership drive, and to all standing committees headed by women.

OHIO: Membership meeting of the CINCINNATI branch was held on October 26 at the Lincoln Community Center, with Joseph Hall, executive secretary of the division of Negro welfare, community chest, as guest speaker.

The continued protestations of the branch against police brutality and irregularities in Cincinnati finally bore fruit when a committee of city councilmen was appointed in October by the mayor. They have held a meeting and outlined a method for reviewing police cases.

There are eighteen of these cases to be heard, sixteen of which were filled with the Cincinnati branch. Lester P. Bailey, new executive secretary of the branch, has been appointed by the council committee to work with the office of the city solicitor in getting in touch with witnesses and in compiling information for the hearings.

Mr. Bailey, the new executive secretary, succeeds Harold Snell, who resigned on October 1 to take a job as assistant to William Townsend, president of the UTSE-CIO.

The nominating committee of the CLEVELAND branch met in historic Triedstone Baptist church on November 14 to elect officers and board members.

For several months prior to the State of Ohio PTA conference in Cincinnati, there was the question as to the treatment that would be accorded Negro delegates with respect to hotel accommodations and eating facilities. The Cleveland branch communicated with the Cincinnati office and the state conference relative to equal treatment of all delegates and was assured weeks in advance that all delegates would be accorded equal treatment.

NEWLY ORGANIZED YOUTH COUNCIL *of the Statesville, N. C., branch. Front row, L to R: Mrs. I. M. Stockton, assistant counselor; Venice Hall, Secretary; J. C. Chambers, president; Mrs. Bessie Lawrence, counselor. Second row, Maude Thomas, assistant secretary; Louise Browner, third vice-president; Anna L. Walker, second vice-president; Vera Scott, first vice-president; and Betty Jean Allison, treasurer.*

William J. Rodgers, director department of industrial relations for Ohio, has been requested by the branch to adhere to the recommendations of the Hotel and Restaurant Minimum Wage Board.

The membership campaign of the Cleveland branch came near maintaining last year's record in a "clean-up" report meeting on October 24. Two hundred and fifty-nine memberships were reported and there is every indication that the 10,559 of last year will be attained. It is interesting to note that leaders in the campaign are maintaining their positions in memberships and money secured.

On October 9 the branch petitioned the safety director, the mayor of Cleveland, the chief of police, and the deputy inspector to include a thorough study in race relations, as well as Negroes in the classes, in an announced police-course study in race relations. Both of the recommendations received favorable consideration.

What the Regions Are Doing

WEST COAST REGION, SAN FRANCISCO: N. W. Griffin, regional secretary, has urged branches in Region I to immediately secure voting and registration information in their particular localities if they have not already done so, and to concentrate branch activities on an intelligent and continuing program designed to induce all people to register and vote.

He called the attention of branches to the fact that they are charged with the responsibility of examining proposals affecting the total community, and specifically the Negro community.

Noah W. Griffin returned in October from an extensive tour of branches in Arizona and southern California, his itinerary including visits with branches in Flagstaff, Tempe, Prescott, Winslow, Tucson and Phoenix in Arizona, and Blythe and Imperial in California.

At Blythe, California, Mr. Griffin addressed the newly formed Palo Verde Valley branch at their first meeting since charter was granted. This community includes many Negro owners of ranches and a progressive program is anticipated by the energetic officers selected. Mr. Charlie Jones is president of the branch; Mrs. Martha McCorkle, vice-president; William Jones, secretary; and Sam White, treasurer.

At Flagstaff, Arizona, on October 5, Mr. Griffin was principal speaker at a meeting held to reactivate the branch, originally chartered in July, 1919. Reverend S. Thornton was elected president and Wilson C. Riles, principal of the local elementary school, vice-president.

In Tempe, the Okema branch (on the outskirts of Phoenix) is composed largely of relative newcomers to the community. Mr. Abe Taylor is president; Mrs. Connie Braxton, secretary; and M. G. Mitchell, treasurer.

At Prescott, public schools are completely integrated, differing from the majority of

places in Arizona where segregation in elementary schools is established by law.

Tucson held the largest attended meeting of the trip. This branch has already exceeded its quota of members for this year and is still securing additional members. The branch has a very energetic president in J. I. Washington.

Returning to California, the regional secretary was guest speaker at an overflow meeting in Imperial on Sunday, October 12. This branch is thoroughly conscious of discrimination in the community as practiced by eating places and a program for combating this evil is being worked out as well as one for attacking segregation in the public schools.

PORTLAND, OREGON: As result of an outstanding program on education, the Portland branch has accomplished much during the past few months. In a report to the regional office, Mrs. Margaret S. Wyman, chairman, education committee, enumerates the following: interview with the superintendent of public schools regarding more and better opportunities for vocational training; "on the job" training in special classes; visits to lawyers and other professional people with a view to interesting them in opening their offices to students in the future.

The education committee also assisted in arranging with the director of the Portland Art Museum for an exhibit of the Harmon Foundation photogravures of noted Negro Americans in January 1948, the cost to be divided between the Museum and the Portland branch.

KLAMATH FALLS, OREGON: Mrs. Annie L. Barnett, secretary Klamath Falls branch, states that their branch is protesting action of the firm of Lambie and Moen, certified public accountants, in threatening to dismiss Lawrence C. Thomas, World War II Veteran, from his training program, being pursued under their direction, because of community disapproval of their hiring a Negro.

SOUTHWEST REGION, DALLAS, TEXAS: Under the leadership of Rev. S. T. Alexander, president of Texas Baptist Convention, twenty-five important statewide organizations have banded themselves together in a commission for the purpose of effecting the payment of the poll tax by every eligible voter in the state. First meeting of the commission took place in Dallas in November.

Sponsored by the Texas NAACP and including as affiliates most of the important religious, political, civic, social and fraternal organizations in Texas, the commission is to be known as the NAACP Co-ordinating Commission for the Payment of the Poll Tax. Vice-chairmen are Rev. S. R. Prince, Fort Worth; Mark Hannah, Port Arthur; and Rev. T. M. Chambers, Dallas. Secretary is Donald Jones, regional secretary; and assistant secretaries are Mrs. Lulu B. White, Houston; J. H. Morton, Austin; and John Rice, Dallas. J. H. Clouser of Galveston will serve as treasurer.

In defining the function of the commission, Rev. Alexander made it plain that "this organization has no political ambitions or ulterior motives. Our sole concern is to persuade the largest possible number of our people to pay their poll taxes and thus prepare themselves to exercise their right of franchise. To attain this end we are asking all our affiliated organizations to plunge themselves into the task with zeal and energy, and to place at the disposal of the commission whatever funds necessary to carry on this vital work."

OFFICERS OF LADIES AUXILIARY *and guest speaker Statesville, N. C., branch. L to R, Mrs. M. H. Horrington, vice-president; Mrs. Eloria Gilbert (seated), guest speaker; and Mrs. Viola F. Long, branch president.*

DALLAS: A letter from E. Wayles Browne, chairman of the Caddo Parish Democratic Executive Committee, Shreveport, Louisiana, promised that his committee would "give very serious consideration" to rescinding a recent resolution it had passed declaring its intention to attempt to conduct a lily-white Democratic primary in Shreveport on January 20, 1948. The letter was addressed to Donald Jones, regional secretary here, who had directed to Mr. Browne a strong letter of protest on the committee's action last week.

The exchange of communications grew out of a story appearing in *The Shreveport Times* under the heading, "Primary for White Demos is Scheduled". The story went on to state that Mr. Browne's committee, meeting the night before, had passed a resolution stating that ". . . no one shall be permitted to vote at the said primary election except electors of the white race". In his letter of protest Mr. Jones called attention to the U. S. Supreme Court decision in 1944 in the case of *Smith vs. Allright* decreeing to Negroes the right to vote in any elections, and assured Mr. Browne that if the committee did not rescind its action, "We (the NAACP) shall be of course obliged to employ every lawful means to insure to our people of Caddo Parish the sacred right to vote which is their privilege and responsibility equally as it is yours."

Mr. Browne, in his reply, professed a personal desire to "follow the law", and promised to "present your communication to the members at the next meeting." He disclaimed major blame for his committee, stating that "that part of the resolution calling the primary which you referred to as [the jim-crow part] was found in a form suggested by our State Elections officials".

DALLAS: W. J. Durham, NAACP resident counsel for the state of Texas, at behest of the Texas NAACP, has entered the case of George Holland, Negro of Ralls, Texas, accused of killing J. J. Pierce, Ralls peace officer, last August, it was announced by A. Masceo Smith, NAACP state executive secretary.

Associating himself during the litigations with the firm of Dillard and Dillard, Lubbock, Texas, which has handled the case so far, Mr. Durham seeks for the accused a new trial primarily on the grounds that confessions were alleged to have been wrung from Negro witnesses by beatings administered by the district attorney himself in a special "whipping room" and on the grounds that the first trial, when Holland was sentenced to the electric chair, was attended by conditions designed to terrorize and intimidate the entire Negro community of Ralls.

Among the scores of persons said to have been beaten in the "whipping room" was Mrs. George Holland, wife of the accused, who displayed contusions and bruises on her body as result of being beaten and kicked. Pictures reveal that Mrs. Holland emerged from the "whipping room" with a gash on the side of her face and bleeding from the nose.

According to reliable testimony, every Negro in Ralls, except an aged couple, was rounded up immediately after the slaying and beaten and intimidated, and the homes of Negroes were indiscriminately broken into. Motion for new trial is expected to be heard November 6.

NEW MEXICO: Twelve years ago the ALBUQUERQUE branch found it necessary to rally to its support all the liberal organizations in the city to break up the practice of segregating colored students in the annual commencement exercises. Six years ago no colored lad could make the high school team, last year the high school left colored players at home when they went to play El Paso, Texas, and Clovis, New Mexico. Needless to say, scores of letters poured in to the city superintendent's office commending his action. These are from Jewish, Spanish American and other groups.

Three days later Hobbs, New Mexico, high school, which had been engaged to fill the open date made by the Roswell cancellation refused to play against the colored players also. Superintendent Milne then stated that "if the attitude of these cities was not changed, Albuquerque would not play them this year or any other year."

Several months ago a movement was launched to turn over the very fine USO plant in Albuquerque for a city-wide youth center. The movement was sponsored by the Bernalillo county community council, an organization that the branch has been a member

John Agnew

INDIANA STATE CONFERENCE—*Delegates from Elkhart, Fort Wayne, Indianapolis, Muncie, Kokomo, Terre Haute, and Madison county met October 25-26 in Fort Wayne and organized the state conference of NAACP branches. Attorney Willard B. Ransom of Indianapolis was elected president. In attendance from the national office were Gloster B. Current, director of branches, and Attorney Franklin Williams, assistant special counsel NAACP.*

of for two years. From the beginning the branch insisted that this youth center integrate all racial groups. The branch was able to rally support for this program and, as a result, has been able to have one of the best youth centers in any city of our size in the nation. Colored youths are on the governing board and colored youngsters participate in all phases of its activities. Colored married couples are called on to chaperon the weekly dances of the junior and senior groups. Hobart L. LaGrone, president Albuquerque branch, is a member of the vocational guidance committee and Mrs. Ella Houston, of the Colored Women's Club, is a member of the social committee. The constitution drawn up by the governing group bars discrimination on account of race, creed or national origin.

The youth center has been very successful so far and the youth council is working to educate some of the more backward youngsters in the matter of democratic integration in the social set-up.

The RAHWAY branch reached its quota of three hundred members some time ago. The success of the drive was largely due to the untiring efforts of Mrs. Carrie L. Johnson and her very efficient committee composed of Mr. and Mrs. Fred Tate, Mrs. Geneva Moore and Mr. Aaron Rozzelle. Mrs. Johnson, who is now ill, deserves great credit for securing the membership of the mayor and two-thirds of the members of the city council. Edward Shell, a veteran of World War II, who secured the memberships of his entire Battery while in the Pacific, is the president of the branch.

"On the Beam" With Youth Councils

ANNUAL CONFERENCE: Sessions of the ninth annual youth conference were held in the Antioch Baptist church, Houston, Texas, November 5-9, with 98 registered delegates from fifteen states and the District of Columbia. Roy Wilkins, assistant secretary NAACP, delivered the opening address, and a letter of greetings to the conference was read from President Truman.

Among the speakers were George L-P. Weaver, of the CIO, who spoke on "Youth and Security," Wendell Addington, of the University of Texas; Heman Sweatt, who is seeking entrance to the University of Texas law school; and Lois Sipuel, who is seeking entrance to the University of Oklahoma law school.

The conference adopted resolutions asking for abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities; passage of anti-poll-tax and anti-lynching legislation; abolition of jim crowism in education; increase in monthly subsistence pay for veterans; instruction in Negro history; and federal aid to education.

Mrs. Ruby H. Hurley, national youth secretary, in reviewing the work of the past year, reported 69 new youth councils and college chapters organized since the last meeting.

The next conference is scheduled to meet in St. Louis, Missouri, the first week in November, 1948. Officers of the 1948 conference are W. W. Law, Savannah, Georgia, chairman; Jack Graham, University of Texas, Austin, Texas, vice-chairman; Gerald Valley, New Orleans, Louisiana, secretary; and Helen Cooper, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, assistant secretary.

Lawson

NINTH ANNUAL YOUTH CONFERENCE—*Pictured here are delegates, representing fifteen states and the District of Columbia, who were in attendance at the ninth annual youth conference held in Houston, Texas, November 5-9.*

Book Reviews

"SAINT-LIKE SPIRIT"

The Walls Came Tumbling Down. **By Mary White Ovington. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1947. X+307 pp. $3.00.**

Mary White Ovington has again rendered a great service to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in writing this story of the founding of the organization and its wonderful growth and development until this day. It is a fine book and written in the generous and kindly spirit that has always marked the author. Yet it cannot be said to be the final history because it was not possible for Miss Ovington to write that. Thus her volume is faulty in that it almost ignores what Mary White Ovington contributed to the sum total. She could not, of course, even if she were capable of it, set forth the tremendous influence upon the fortunes of the organization that she exerted for many years. Indeed it would be hard for anyone to assess properly her lovely Christian spirit, htr refusal to hate, her endless tact, her healing contributions to the solution of trying situations, her excellent judgment, her rare personality, her boundless generosity to the Association to which she gave years of service without taking a cent of pay. Only the other day I ran across a letter from Boston, written nearly forty years ago and received after she had made a visit there on behalf of the NAACP, speaking of her "saint-like spirit."

No one else, not even Joel Spingarn, has made greater contributions to the phenominal rise of the NAACP. I do not overlook W. E. B. DuBois and Walter White when I say this; I am merely recalling Miss Ovington's dauntless courage and determination to have the work succeed when all the odds were against us. As she has set forth in this book, five of us, Miss Ovington, Walter E. Sachs, Dr. DuBois, John Haynes Holmer, and I were the incorporators. At first we lived from hand to mouth in offices for which no rent was charged and the financial burden was carried by a few. The contributions from colored people were very small. It seemed as if it were going to be as difficult to arouse them to stand up for their rights as to make the white public realize that the wrongs done to the Negroes made of our democracy a mockery and a sham. Yet after thirty-eight years four of the incorporators have lived to see the membership of the Association at the half million mark, aiming at one million within the next two years, and the Association itself under its colored leadership one of the most powerful organizations in the United States. Instead of living from hand to mouth in 1945 it received $442,000 which was $100,000 in excess of its budgetary requirements.

I am still told by Southerners, as Virginius Dabney writes from time to time, that the Association's aggressiveness is retarding the rise of the Negro and causing an increase in bitterness and hate in the South. Every one of these arguments was advanced against the Abolitionists during the terrible thirty-one years from 1832 to 1863 when the battle for emancipation was won. What these sectionalists overlook is that no true humanitarian has the right to be silent when wrong is being done, when human beings are being burned and shot and tortured and abused; that if it is right for the United States to inject itself into evil and anti-democratic conditions all over the world, it is right and eminently proper for Americans to insist that wrongdoing at home and the flouting of the Bill of Rights and the Constitution shall cease. I have heard these protests against Northern interference in the affairs of the South ever since I was a child. No unbiased man or woman can read Miss Ovington's record of what the NAACP has accomplished in the courts, in checking lynchings, in rousing public sentiment, in inspiring the colored people to protect their own rights, yes, in saving the lives of innocent persons condemned to death and believe that its course has anything else than completely justified the aims and ideals of its founders.

In reading this book any peruser of *The Walls Came Tumbling Down* will not feel that this is merely a dry record of the advance of an association or even of the colored people. It is a noteworthy biography, the moving story of one who, with means, leisure

Lawson

YOUTH CONFERENCE DELEGATES *march in protest against the jim-crow university of Texas for Negroes in Houston.*

NEW JUDGE — *Governor James H. Duff of Pennsylvania congratulates Herbert E. Millen, a prominent lawyer he appointed as judge of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia. Mr. Millen, who was formerly assistant director of public safety, is the first Negro to hold such a position in the state of Pennsylvania.*

Acme

and love of the fine things of this world, deliberately gave her life to an unpopular cause which often subjected her to vile, obscene abuse and numerous discomforts. She alone proves, I think, the correctness of a famous saying of William Lloyd Garrison: "Why, it is the best investment for the soul's welfare possible to take hold of something that is righteous but unpopular. It invigorates us to work in a righteous but unpopular cause: it teaches us to know ourselves, to know what it is we are relying on, whether we love the praise of men or the praise of God."

This book should be in the possession of every thoughtful member of the NAACP, not only because of the record it contains, but as evidence of gratitude for Miss Ovington's never-ceasing efforts for the Negro American. Especially praiseworthy is Miss Ovington's reciting the story of the Association by giving whole chapters to the achievements of James Weldon Johnson, Walter White and John Shillady, whose service as secretary was terminated by a most brutal physical assault upon him when he was in the South on behalf of the Association. That again is in keeping with her desire to do jutsice to all and to subordinate her own achievements to those of others.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD.

FICTIONAL TRIPE

***Democracy Reborn* (A novel). By John Paul Blair. New York: Published by the Author, n.d. 183 pp. $2.50.**

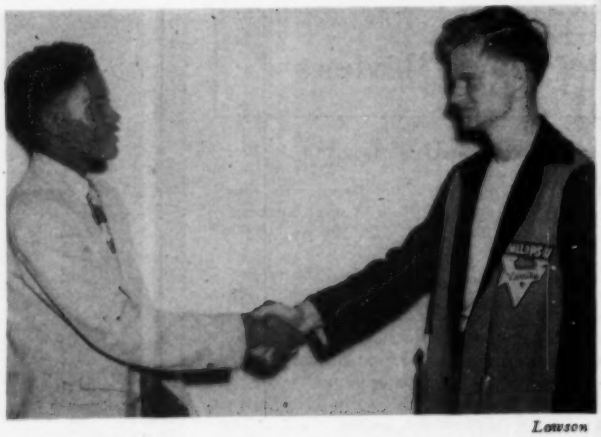
Under the title *Democracy Reborn* J. Paul Blair has brought out what purports to be a novel "unique in drama, love, characterization, tragedy, and patriotism." This is the story of a little brown boy who, fired by his father's ambition and point of view on the Negro's place in history, strives to achieve the practical ideal of democracy through education of all the people in the contributions of all, but especially of the Negro group, to American civilization from Colonial days to the present. It involves the awakening impulses of intellectual curiosity of Scraggwood, the hero, his difficulties with and influence upon Negro teachers and a white historian of the hush-hush school, his relationship to Uncle Skint, who becomes his inspiration and his benefactor, his travels and experiences in love, and his final resolve to carry out a plan of social usefulness that had been growing upon him from childhood. Thus stated the plot sounds like a well developed social document deserving of serious consideration.

The difficulty is that the book can hardly be called a novel at all. Rather, it consists of a series of essays and sketches, the main purpose of which is to establish the thesis that democracy will have its real birth in the United States when the history of minority groups is so handled in school and other educational agencies that race prejudice will perforce be uprooted. So bent upon establishing this thesis is the author that in much of the first part of the book he seems to have given mere excerpts from such writers as Aptheker, Douglass, Du Bois, and Earl Conrad, only to swing into a lengthy discourse similar to almost any edited slave narrative. The book thus loses much of the dramatic power that it might have had through more direct characterization of Scraggwood, Uncle Skint, and the young white historian Gaslop, each of whom has definite possibilities as a character.

Of the three, Uncle Skint is certainly the most impressive. He has vitality, a fine grasp of historical information, a zest for truth, a fearlessness highly commendable in any man. As for Gaslop, he may pass muster well enough provided one accepts the proposition that such a person is dramatically sufficient unto himself; he certainly is not properly accounted for as one of the most important characters throughout a considerable section of the book. In like manner much of what Scraggwood does hardly makes sense. It is not sufficient to tear him away from solid home moorings and send him to Los Angeles where he falls in with bad company, including a virtual prostitute with whom he becomes infatuated despite his supposed good sense and firm character.

The basic fault in matters of plot and characterization seems to be that Blair has followed the race-praising, idealization pattern interfused with the inevitable prostitution-slum dwelling complex that makes good copy for certain types of readers but does not make even a respectable novel. The type of thing set forth in this book is similar to what Richard Wright detailed in *Twelve Million Black Voices*, the difference being that Wright presents subject matter with stylistic power and a sense of dramatic proportion, thus approaching the pattern of the novel. On the other hand, Blair purports to write a novel but instead gives his readers, even grammatically, a poorly written series of essays and sketches.

ARTHUR E. BURKE.



GREETINGS—*Floyd Scott, president Houston, Texas, youth council, host to the ninth conference, shakes hands with delegate E. F. Norwood of Phillips university, Enid, Oklahoma.*

Lawson

CARIBBEAN CALDRON

***Democracy and Empire in the Caribbean.* By Paul Blanshard. New York: the Macmillan Co., 1947. XI+379 pp. $5.00.**

In *Democracy and Empire in the Caribbean* Mr. Blanshard gives us the rich fruit of his years of experience in the Antilles. His book is a welcome change from the usual exotica written on the area and is a faithful report on conditions as they actually exist under the aegis of Empire and Democracy. The poor socio-economic conditions and the political plight of the inhabitants of the Caribbean are brought into sharp focus in this book. These people live on the periphery of civilization and their welfare is hardly ever considered except as a source of cheap labor to help provide raw materials for their "mother" countries.

Inhabitants of the islands suffer from all the evils of colonialism: absentee ownership, illiteracy, malnutrition, poverty. And while there is no racial problem in the islands in the American sense there is, nevertheless, considerable color prejudice, which is aggravated by the snobbishness of the British. These color attitudes often blind the people to their actual plight and lead to senseless divisions among themselves.

Largely agricultural, the Caribbean area has become a victim to mono-culture — sugar.

YOUTH CONFERENCE *delegates representing Samuel Huston, Tillotson, and the University of Texas in attendance at ninth youth conference in Houston, Texas.*

Lawson

Cocoa which was at one time virtually a West Indian monopoly has now been replaced in the world market by African cocoa. Run through the "Caribbean Fact Sheet on pages 172-173 and the enslavement of the Caribbean economy to the one-crop system becomes glaringly obvious. Only in Aruba, with its American controlled oil refineries, are the workers well paid—the best paid workers in the Caribbean. Of all the colonies Puerto Rico has received the most aid from the "mother" country. But then America has also introduced race prejudice.

Politically, Jamaica is in the forefront of the English colonies with its People's National Party headed by Norman Manley. Since the war the islands have been clamoring for federation, and steps have been taken to achieve this goal.

Mr. Blanshard closes his book with a chapter entitled "Progress and Prophecy" in which he presents nine propositions for use as a working approach to the evils of colonialism. If the Atlantic Charter is to mean anything, surely the fate of six million people in the Caribbean deserves serious attention.

An excellent bibliography with "Notes and Comments" make *Democracy and Empire in the Caribbean* well worth reading.

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U. S. Discrimination

(Continued from page 364)

natural resources throughout the United States both in cities, and in farming districts is a disgraceful aftermath to the vast land heritage with which this nation started.

Democratic Process Crippled

In 1876 the democratic process of government was crippled throughout the whole nation. This came about not simply through the disfranchisement

of Negroes but through the fact that the political power of the disfranchised Negroes and of a large number of equally disfranchised whites was preserved as the basis of political power, but the wielding of that power was left in the hands and under the control of the successors to the planter dynasty in the South.

Let us examine these facts more carefully. The United States has always professed to be a Democracy. She has never wholly attained her ideal, but slowly she has approached it. The privilege of voting has in time been widened by abolishing limitations of birth, religion and lack of property. After the Civil War, which abolished slavery, the nation in gratitude to the black soldiers and laborers who helped win that war, sought to admit to the suffrage all persons without distinction of "race, color or previous condition of servitude". They were warned by the great leaders of abolition, like Sumner, Stevens and Douglass, that this could only be effective, if the Freedmen were given schools, land and some minimum of capital. A Freedmen's Bureau to furnish these prerequisites to effective citizenship was planned and put into partial operation. But Congress and the nation, weary of the costs of war and eager to get back to profitable industry, refused the necessary funds. The effort died, but in order to restore friendly civil government in the South the enfranchised Freedman, seventy-five per cent illiterate, without land or tools, was thrown into competitive industry with a ballot in his hands. By herculean effort, helped by philanthropy and his own hard work, the Negro built a school system, bought land and cooperated in starting a new economic order in the South. In a generation he had reduced his illiteracy by half and had become a wage-earning laborer and share-cropper. He still was handicapped by poverty, disease and crime, but nevertheless the rise of the American Negro from slavery in 1860 to freedom in 1880, has few parallels in modern history.

However, opposition to any democracy which included the Negro race on any terms was so strong in the former slave-holding South, and found so much sympathy in large parts of the rest of the nation, that despite notable improvement in the condition of the Negro by every standard of social measurement, the effort to deprive Negroes of the right to vote succeeded. At first he was driven from the polls in the South by mobs and violence; and then he was openly cheated; finally by a "Gentleman's agreement" with the North, the Negro was disfranchised in the South by a series of laws, methods of administration, court decisions and general public policy, so that today three-fourths of the Negro population of the nation is deprived of the right to vote by open and declared policy.

Situation Serious

Most persons seem to regard this as simply unfortunate for Negroes, as depriving a modern working class of the minimum rights for self-protection and opportunity for progress. This is true as has been shown in poor educational opportunities, discrimination in work, health protection and in the courts. But the situation is far more serious than this: the disfranchisement of the American Negro makes the functioning of all democracy in the nation difficult; and as democracy fails to function in the leading democracy in the world, it fails in the world. . . .

This paradox and contradiction enters into our actions, thoughts and plans. After the First World War, we were alienated from the proposed League of Nations because of sympathy for imperialism and because of race antipathy to Japan and because we objected to the compulsory protection of minorities in Europe, which might lead to similar demands upon the United States. We joined Great Britain in determined refusal to recognize equality of races and nations; our tendency was toward isolation until we saw a chance to make inflated profits from the want which came upon the world. This effort of America to make profit out of the disaster in Europe was one of the causes of the depression of the thirties. . . .

But today the paradox again looms after the Second World War. We have recrudescence of race hate and caste restrictions in the United States and of these dangerous tendencies not simply for the United States itself but for all nations. When will nations learn that their enemies are quite as often within their own country as without? It is not Russia that threatens the United States so much as Mississippi; not Stalin and Molotov but Bilbo and Rankin; internal injustice done to one's brothers is far more dangerous than the aggression of strangers from abroad.

Finally it must be stressed that the discrimination of which we complain is not simply discrimination against poverty and ignorance which the world by long custom is used to see: the discrimination practiced in the United States is practiced against American Negroes in spite of wealth, training and character. One of the contributors of this statement happens to be a white man but the other three and the editor himself are subject to "jim-crow" laws, to denial of the right to vote, to unequal chance to earn a living; of the right to enter many places of public entertainment supported by their taxes. In other words our complaint is mainly against a discrimination based mainly on color of skin, and it is this that we denounce as not only indefensible but barbaric. . . .

ABSTRACTS OF CHAPTERS 2-6 OF THE STATEMENT AND APPEAL

In addition to Dr. Du Bois' introductory chapter, there were contributions by Earl B. Dickerson, denial of legal rights from 1787 to 1914; Milton R. Konvitz, legal status since World War I; William R. Ming, Jr., present legal and social status; Leslie S. Perry, patterns of discrimination in fundamental human rights; and Rayford W. Logan, the UN Charter and its provisions for human rights and the rights of minorities.

Chapter II by Earl B. Dickerson

It is a sad commentary on American constitutional jurisprudence that because of the absence of effective sanctions there exists a pitiable chasm between the doctrinal idealism of constitutional guarantees and the practical realization of constitutional protection. And in no phase of American life is this paradox more patently illustrated than in the status of American Negroes.

Chapter III by Milton R. Konvitz

Congress has refused to pass laws to declare the poll tax illegal; to make lynching more effectively subject to federal law; to make discrimination in private employment in interstate commerce a crime; to define and guarantee civil rights in the District of Columbia. The Supreme Court has failed to declare jim crowism in intrastate commerce unconstitutional; to outlaw segregation in schools as a denial of due process or equal protection of the laws; to outlaw the restrictive covenant in the sale or rental of property; to declare the poll tax an unconstitutional tax on a federally guaranteed right or privilege.

Chapter IV by William R. Ming, Jr.

The present legal and social status of the Negro in the United States can be best described in terms of the appalling contrast between the breadth of the rights which are guaranteed by law to every person and those few which Negroes, generally, are permitted to enjoy. Frequently it is said that the Negro has been relegated to "second-class citizenship." That, however, is an overly simplified description of the plight of a minority when the political and social institutions of their country fail miserably to protect their lives, liberties or property.

The terrorization of Negroes in the United States by lynching has long been an international scandal.

A lynching is the killing of an accused or suspected person by a mob without trial or before judicial sentence. Statistics of lynching have been kept with some accuracy since 1882 and are as follows:

Year	Total*	Year	Total	Year	Total
1882	114	1904	79	1925	18
1883	134	1905	60	1926	29
1884	211	1906	64	1927	16
1885	184	1907	59	1928	10
1886	138	1908	92	1929	12
1887	122	1909	75	1930	23
1888	142	1910	80	1931	11
1889	176	1911	72	1932	8
1890	128	1912	86	1933	26
1891	195	1913	85	1934	16
1892	235	1914	69	1935	24
1893	200	1915	99	1936	10
1894	197	1916	65	1937	8
1895	180	1917	52	1938	7
1896	131	1918	63	1939	4
1897	165	1919	79	1940	5
1898	127	1920	57	1941	5
1899	107	1921	58	1942	5
1900	115	1922	54	1943	3
1901	135	1923	26	1944	4
1902	97	1924	16	1945	1
1903	104			1946	7

* The figures 1882-1903, include whites.

Practically no person in the United States has ever been punished for participation in a lynching.

Chapter V by Leslie S. Perry

Those who would continue to exploit the Negro, politically and economically have first tried to keep his mind in shackles. They have done so by denying him equal access to the educational facilities which this nation has and makes available to all white citizens who choose to use them.

The overwhelming majority of Negroes in America live in urban slums or rural slums. They are forced to remain bottled up in these blighted areas by the prejudice of the dominant white community, enforced by courts of law, physical force and violence, and the mechanism of organized government.

Uniform discrimination against the Negro by public and private health services makes adequate and proper medical care the exception rather than the rule, even when he has the money to pay for it.

Chapter VI by Rayford W. Logan

The determination of the drafters of the Charter of the United Nations to universalize the protection of human rights and minorities which had previously rested upon agreements with individual nations is manifest from the language of the Charter and the frequency with which the language is repeated. There are six separate references to the ideal of equal treatment of all men and women in all the lands. The charter also contains the stipulations by which these ideals are to be achieved.

The major obstacle in the way of any effective implementation of the evident intent of the drafters of the charter is the prohibition against UN interference in what might be considered essentially domestic matters. Recent history, however, has demonstrated that many questions hitherto thought of as "essentially within the domestic jurisdiction" of a nation may fall within the scope of the purpose of UN "to maintain international peace and security." The treatment of Jews in Germany was one of the causes of World War II. The treatment of minorities in Poland and other Central and Eastern European countries is one of the principal causes of international friction today.

And the well-nigh universal violation of the principle of "respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all" as far as Negroes are concerned comes within the category of domestic situations that constitute a threat to international peace and security.

Jim Crow Colorado

(*Continued from page* 360)

ing the intolerable inertia of the Old Guard, they voted them out to install a new slate of militants, typified by President Charles Banks, 67, a veteran of more than one scrap with the corrupt city administration and a thorn in the tough hide of entrenched interest, both white and Negro. He has the advantage of having lived in the city for forty-two years and of knowing something of the shady dealings of its administration in its maintenance of white supremacy. He is a game, seasoned, fearless fighter whom the reactionary triumvirate with all their brutality cannot intimidate. As a result, Banks has not been popular with the police force, nor with those elements in the Negro population, for that matter, who favor the *status quo*.

Until the latter become dissatisfied with second class citizenship (and the bones that go with it) the road ahead is indeed blocked with obstructions. For, in the final analysis, only the people can emancipate themselves by pursuit of their own intelligent self-interest through social awareness.

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The following directory of some of the many colored lawyers in this country is carried in response to numerous inquiries from readers desiring to contact attorney outside their home towns. The Crisis maintains no legal bureau, and the N.A.A.C.P. handles only cases involving color discrimination, segregation or denial of citizen rights.

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